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# FOREIGN POLICY BULLETIN

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## PROBLEMS OF ORDERLY CHANGE RAISED BY IRANIAN DISPUTE

WHEN the Security Council on March 29 accepted Mr. Byrnes' proposal that the United Nations should ask both Russia and Iran for information concerning the status of their negotiations, it postponed until April 3 a decision as to the action it might take on Iran's appeal. In accordance with its expressed determination to deal at this stage with procedure and not with substance it did not attempt to come to grips with the basic issues raised by that appeal. The discussions of the Council in the former gymnasium of Hunter College in the Bronx, however, have already served to focus world opinion on these issues, and have brought out two points of crucial importance for the future of the United Nations.

### DIFFERENCES IN CONCEPT OF EQUALITY.

The first of these points is a fundamental difference between Russia and the Western powers concerning the concept of equality of nations. In his answer, on the eve of the Council session, to three questions posed by Hugh Baillie, president of the United Press—an answer repeatedly referred to by Ambassador Gromyko—Marshal Stalin stressed "the equality of states" in the United Nations. In view of this statement, Russia's persistent refusal to discuss the Iranian situation in the Council until April 10 has seemed to many observers disingenuous and unsportsmanlike. The other countries represented on the Council would not contend that all nations, great and small, are really equal in power and influence. But several of them insisted that every one of the United Nations, no matter how weak or backward, must have the right to appear before the Council on its own behalf without undue delay, and present any complaints it may have against a great power on terms of legal equality.

The Council, acting on this concept of equality,

had no choice but to make it possible for Iran to state whether it favored the postponement demanded by Moscow, and if not, why not. Only after Iran's views about the proposed postponement had been ascertained, was it possible for the Council to address identical inquiries for information to Moscow and Teheran. Had the Council, after giving Russia an opportunity to explain why it was urging a postponement (an opportunity of which Mr. Gromyko did not avail himself except to refer to newspaper interviews given by Marshal Stalin and Iranian Prime Minister Ghavam), then merely asked Iran for written information, as suggested by the Australian delegate, Colonel Hodgson, it would not have afforded equal opportunity for a hearing to a small country bringing a complaint against a great power. Although Colonel Hodgson sought to demonstrate that the Council, had, in effect, adopted his proposal, and might have averted Russia's withdrawal by accepting it in the first place, that is not an accurate description of the course taken by the Council.

IS COUNCIL TREATING RUSSIA AS AN EQUAL? But admitting the validity of the Council's decision to reject Russia's demand for postponement by a 9 to 2 vote, and to invite Iran, following Mr. Gromyko's withdrawal, to appear and present his views about the proposed postponement, the question of equality calls for further analysis. Russia has made no secret since Dumbarton Oaks that its idea of equality is equality among the great powers. This concept is at the core of the veto power reserved for the Big Five—and we should not forget that the United States was just as insistent as Russia on inclusion in the San Francisco Charter of the veto on action by the Council. Where the United States differs from Russia is in contending that the veto should not be applied to dis-

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cussion of a controversial issue—although it may prove in practice difficult to draw the line between discussion and action, since obviously the final decision in any controversy will be affected by the discussion that precedes it. But viewing the Council's debate on Iran in the light of its definition of equality, Russia contends that it is not, in effect, being treated by the Big Five as an equal, since the Council has shown a concern about the presence of Russian troops in Iran which it has not thus far displayed about the presence of British troops in Greece or Egypt for example, or American troops in Iceland or China.

The weakness of Russia's case in the eyes of the world is threefold. First, it failed to comply with the terms of the Anglo-Russian-Iranian treaty of 1942, under which all foreign troops were to have been withdrawn from Iran by March 2; second, judging by the testimony presented by the Iranian Ambassador, which Russia has not sought to deny officially, Moscow, in the course of direct negotiations with Iran undertaken with the approval of the Security Council, sought to obtain political, territorial and economic advantages in return for the withdrawal of its troops; and, third, Russia declined to vouchsafe any information at the Council table as to the reasons why it sought a postponement of discussion about Iran—leaving the world to assume, rightly or wrongly, that it had hoped to obtain from Teheran, by April 10, the concessions it had been unsuccessfully pressing for during Prime Minister Ghavam's visit to Moscow.

In fairness to Russia, however, it must be recognized that other great powers are using pressure of one kind or another on small nations to obtain new privileges (the United States, during the war, sought to obtain oil concessions in Iran), or retain old ones (Britain appears loath to relinquish the right to maintain troops on Egyptian soil, which it has enjoyed under a ten-year treaty with Egypt whose termination is being demanded by Cairo). Nor does the reported Russian proposal for the creation of a joint stock oil company, in which Russia would have 51 per cent of the shares, and Iran 49 per cent, differ materially from the setup of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, through which British interests obtain oil from Iran. It is proper to insist on Russia's fulfillment of treaty obligations, for if every nation feels free to flout treaties, all hope of world order will have to be abandoned. But

it would be unrealistic to assume that Russia alone among the great powers uses its influence to obtain from small countries privileges they might not otherwise grant. What is needed is not merely reform of Russia's practices, but reform of the practices of all great powers in their relations with small nations. It is encouraging, in this connection, that the United States has decided to relinquish on May 20 bases it had acquired in Cuba during the war.

**U.N. MUST ACT ON BASIC ISSUES.** The second important point revealed by the Council's debates on Iran is that if the United Nations are to give effective protection to small nations, they must do more than require strict compliance with treaties. If all nations agreed on the desirability of maintaining the existing order of things, the *status quo*, there would be little reason for conflict. It is when one nation or another attempts to alter existing conditions that clashes occur.

The Council, which in London requested Russia and Iran to submit a report to the present session on their direct negotiations, has legitimate reason to seek information as to the status of these negotiations; and it is unfortunate that Britain and the United States, instead of waiting for this report, by-passed the United Nations and sent individual notes to Moscow inquiring why Russian troops had not left Iran by March 2. But it is even more important for the Council to find out why Russia wants political, territorial and economic advantages. If, upon investigation there should appear, for example, to be justification for Russia's demand for oil concessions, the Council would need to determine whether exploitation of Iran's resources by great powers can be carried out in such a way as to serve the interests of the Iranian people, who have hitherto had little share either in governing themselves or in deriving material benefits from their country's natural wealth. Russia's unilateral intervention in Iran is open to criticism. The remedy, however, is not counter-intervention by Britain and the United States, but joint efforts under United Nations authority to find a workable compromise that would avert a conflict among the Big Three, yet would not impose intolerable sacrifices on small nations. But before the Council can initiate such action, the Big Three must agree among themselves to subordinate their national ambitions to the interests of the international community.

VERA MICHELES DEAN

## UNITED NATIONS SET UP NARCOTIC DRUGS COMMISSION

On January 29 Arthur Henderson, British Under Secretary of State for India and Burma, spoke to the United Nations Assembly in support of a proposal to create a Commission on Narcotic Drugs, which would report directly to the Economic and

Social Council. This speech was doubly important. Not only did it come from a high official in the India Office (India occupies a key position in a program of further progress of opium control) but it also welcomed "the proposal of the United States

government for immediate action to get an opium limitation convention," adding: "The United Kingdom will give their warmest support to any action along these lines."

Information has been received by the State Department from Hong Kong and Singapore that all opium-smoking monopolies have been abolished since British re-occupation of these territories, including North Borneo, Sarawak, Labuan and Brunei. Thus an ancient evil has ended, and a point of friction between Britain on the one hand, and China and the United States on the other, has been removed. Similar action by the Netherlands Government obviously must await settlement of the present political difficulties in Indonesia.

The new Commission on Narcotic Drugs of the United Nations Organization has fifteen member nations—China, France, United Kingdom, U.S.S.R., United States, Canada, Egypt, India, Iran, Mexico, Netherlands, Peru, Poland, Turkey and Yugoslavia. This Commission replaces the Opium Advisory Committee of the former League of Nations. Delegates will represent their respective governments. The

reduction in membership from twenty-five nations at the last meetings of the League Opium Advisory Committee to fifteen, and the expectation that representatives with administrative and technical experience will be the delegates, are improvements based on lessons of the past.

The inclusion of Iran, whose name was not on the list of countries proposed by the United States delegate, is open to question. Iran's past record in opium does not justify such membership. Iran has refused to adopt any international treaty obligations which affect its freedom to sell opium to any and all purchasers. Years of pressure by the League, as well as forceful representations by the United States government on the basis of the Judd Resolution\* have been without results. Therefore, those countries which have long suffered from smuggled Iranian opium will watch carefully how Iran's opium policy is affected by its membership on the new Commission on Narcotic Drugs.

HELEN HOWELL MOORHEAD

\*See *Foreign Policy Bulletin*, July 21, 1944.

## THE F.P.A. BOOKSHELF

*Brazil: People and Institutions*, by T. Lynn Smith. Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1946. \$6.50

With this detailed study of Brazil's population and social organization, Professor Smith has placed Brazilian, as well as United States, readers in his debt. At a time when Brazil's agricultural problem is largely eclipsed by the current emphasis on industrialization, the chapters on land division, tenure, rural communities and the like are particularly instructive.

*Brazil*, by Preston E. James. New York, Odyssey, 1946. \$2.75

A reprint of the section on Brazil from the same author's *Latin America*, which has become a classic in the field. In a specially written conclusion, Mr. James finds at least part of the solution to the problem of Brazil's "hollow frontier" in the new cities—themselves an expression of the speculative nature of the national economy—which are springing up in the interior and provide what there is of stability and permanence in the Brazilian scene.

*The International Secretariat: A Great Experiment in International Administration*, by E. F. Ranshofen-Wertheimer. Washington, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1945. Distributed by International Documents Section of Columbia University Press, \$4.50

A former official of the Secretariat discusses the administrative development of the League of Nations. While he does not try to excuse any failures of the League, he feels that it definitely proves the possibility of large-scale international administration. This study therefore should have great value in the case of the United Nations Organization.

*The Story of Woodrow Wilson*, by Ruth Cranston. New York, Simon and Schuster, 1945. \$3.50

A long-time friend of the Wilson family compresses into a single volume a biography intensely personal yet devoted

ing much space to his great fight for the League of Nations.

*The German Talks Back*, by Heinrich Hauser. New York, Henry Holt, 1945. \$2.00

*Civil Life in Wartime Germany*, by Max Seydewitz. New York, Viking, 1945. \$3.50

*Re-Educating Germany*, by Werner Richter. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1945. \$3.50

Three books dealing with the effects of Nazism on the German people by Germans who had gone into exile. All three authors insist that "another Germany" always existed in opposition to Hitler, and they conclude that it should now be encouraged by moderate peace terms which will seem overgenerous to many readers.

*Poland*, edited by Bernadotte E. Schmitt. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1945. \$5.00

*Belgium*, edited by Jan-Albert Goris. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1945. \$5.00

These two volumes in the United Nations Series, published in an effort to present reliable and comprehensive information about the characteristics and problems of the various Allies, are written by a carefully selected panel of scholars and are ably edited. *Belgium* is the only general book of recent date on that country, and *Poland* also makes a notable contribution to the study of a controversial subject.

*America's Stake in Britain's Future*, by George Soule. New York, Viking Press, 1945. \$2.75

Anglo-American economic cooperation must prove the cornerstone of world trade revival, and it is this requirement which Mr. Soule has admirably explained in his book which also briefly sketches Britain's critical economic position today, as well as its plans for domestic economic reconstruction.

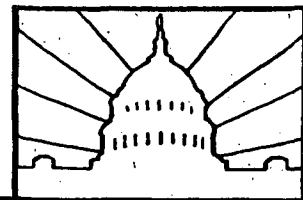
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# Washington News Letter



## ATOMIC ENERGY REPORT POINTS WAY TO INTERNATIONAL CONTROL

The proposals laid before the Senate Committee on Atomic Energy by Under Secretary of State Dean Acheson on March 25 and released for publication by the State Department on March 29, advocate international control of atomic energy and industrial use of the atom bomb secret for peacetime civilian purposes. Congress, on the other hand, seems to favor national control under an arrangement emphasizing the military usefulness of the secret.

**ARGUMENTS FOR INTERNATIONAL CIVILIAN CONTROL.** Despite the skepticism of Congress, which is revealed by the votes of the Senate Committee on Atomic Energy, the proponents of international civilian control outside Congress have been increasing in numbers. The publication of the book *One World or None* has fortified the arguments of the internationalists. New committees to advocate international control have been created—the Emergency Committee for Civilian Control of Atomic Energy, which has the support of 59 national organizations, and the Tri-State Committee of Educators, Scientists and Religious Leaders on Atomic Energy and Related Problems, of Pennsylvania, Ohio and West Virginia. The National Committee on Atomic Energy, established some time ago, held a conference in Washington on March 26 at which Secretary of Commerce Henry A. Wallace challenged the supporters of military control.

The report presented to the Senate Committee by the group of experts headed by Mr. Acheson strengthens the position of these citizen committees for two reasons. First, it discloses that it is possible to distribute uranium to industrial consumers without fear that it will be used for military purposes, because the material can be so "denatured" that it will provide energy for peacetime uses but not enough energy for use in bombs. Secondly, the report proposes a workable method of international regulation through control of uranium at its source, instead of the international inspection of factories which had been previously discussed, and had been recognized as extremely difficult to administer.

The report was prepared by five distinguished men, headed by David E. Lilienthal, chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority, under the guidance of a Committee on Atomic Energy appointed on January 7 by Secretary of State James F. Byrnes. The Committee consisted of Mr. Acheson, John J. McCloy, former Assistant Secretary of War, Dr. Vannevar Bush, director of the Office of Scientific

Research and Development, Dr. James B. Conant, President of Harvard University, and Maj. Gen. Leslie R. Groves, in charge of the Manhattan District Project which developed the atomic bomb after physicists had urged the War Department to investigate the possibilities of such a weapon.

**SHOULD MILITARY SHARE IN CONTROL?** Yet at least two of the members of the Committee sponsoring the report on international control support individually a degree of American military supervision which could compromise international control. Although President Truman on March 14 for the second time stated that he favored civilian control, General Groves consistently has sustained the military view that atomic energy is useful chiefly in weapons. Dr. Bush said on March 15 that the military should not be "unduly hampered" in their use of atomic energy. The case for the military view impresses the Senate Committee. On March 12 it approved by a vote of 6 to 1 an amendment offered by Senator Arthur Vandenberg, Republican of Michigan, for the creation of a military liaison committee empowered to review decisions of the Civilian Commission on Atomic Energy, which would come into existence upon enactment of the McMahon Bill. When Committee Chairman Brien McMahon, Democrat of Connecticut, objected to the Vandenberg amendment, the Committee approved it once more on March 13 by 10 to 1.

Unusual difficulties will confront the United States in making its policy effective, whether it decides on an international civilian control, or on a military control that would be essentially national. The scientists indispensable for the advancement of atomic experimentation resent military influence. Scientists acquainted with some aspect of atomic energy are forbidden to travel abroad and may not discuss certain areas of their work with one another. They are also required to withhold certain information from their students. "Science simply will not go forward under military domination," Dr. Edward U. Condon, director of the National Bureau of Standards, said on March 5. Dr. Irving Kaplan, chairman of the executive committee of the Association of Manhattan Scientists, New York area, said on March 17 that military control of atomic energy would work against the future peacetime development of atomic energy in the United States.

BLAIR BOLLES